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Coin Circulation in Late Medieval Thrace
According to the Evidence from Edirne
Archaeological Museum

by

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[PLATES 29–39]

THE NUMISMATIC holdings of a regionally based and orientated museum can be a good way – in the absence of comprehensive archives of local finds – of understanding the coinage used in a certain territory in a diachronic fashion, containing as it might the results of excavations, and of donations, sales, and confiscations from local people, particularly from those working in agriculture. This study presents only the inventoried coins of the late medieval period held by the Archaeological Museum of Edirne in Turkish Thrace, apart from the coins from the Ainos (Enez) excavations which were the subject of a previous publication.¹ Regrettably, the Ottoman coins of the same museum, region and period have not been studied, a situation which I hope to remedy in the future. The geographical focus of this study has been provided by the territorial remit of Edirne Museum, that is to say Edirne province, which stretches from the city in the north to the Aegean coast in the south, a strip running parallel to the Meriç / Evros river. Exceptions to this are two small hoards of gold hyperpyra, respectively from the areas of Pınarhisar and Lüleburgaz in the neighbouring province of Kırklareli (hoards 1 and 2; **Pl. 29, 1–8**). This study omits the prolific issues of the Comnenian dynasty, and of the so-called Latin and ‘Bulgarian’ imitative series around the year 1204, and begins with the coinage in the name of Emperor John III Vatatzes (1222–54). Most of the coins date to the Palaeologan period in Byzantine history (1261–1453), and my point of departure had been to investigate the fate of the Byzantine currency in this period of adversity. The obvious advantage of Thrace over other areas of Byzantium lies in its proximity to Constantinople and its imperial mint. Nevertheless, the term Palaeologan would fail to describe the complexity of the political and monetary situation. The main contemporary cities within the chosen territory, Edirne and Ainos, for instance fell respectively to the Ottomans and the Genoese Gattilusio family in the second half of the fourteenth century. Also, the majority of the coins I studied were not local, despite of the proliferation of mints in Thrace and the northern Aegean.

¹ Baker 2013. Now, as then, I am grateful to the Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism; to Hasan Karakaya and Şahan Kırçın of Edirne Archaeological Museum; and to Prof. Dr. Oğuz Tekin (Istanbul University). The Craven Committee and the Leverhulme Trust supported my work in Thrace. My thanks also go to Pavla Drapelova for her help in classifying the coins, and to Alan Stahl for discussing the later grosso issues of Venice.

THE COINS

HOARDS

B379/2341 etc. are the Museum's inventory numbers.

1. *Pınarhisar* (7)

These seven gold hyperpyra were confiscated in the locality of Binatemeldi near Pınarhisar, in the province of Kırklareli.

BYZANTIUM (7). John III Vatatzes (1221–54), Magnesia mint, *DOC* 4.2, pp. 483ff, second coinage, Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2000, group A, second phase

1. 4.34g. B379/2341. No obv. sigla
2. 4.46g. B377/2339. No obv. sigla
3. 4.62g. B375/2337. No obv. sigla
4. 4.72g. B373/2335. ◊ left above obv. throne
5. 4.62g. B374/2336. ◊ left above obv. throne
6. 4.61g. B378/2340. ◊ left above obv. throne
7. 4.58g. B376/2338. ◊ left above obv. throne

2. *Lüleburgaz (Kırklareli province)* (2)

Two hyperpyra of Andronicus II and Michael IX, which were possibly a hoard or part of a hoard, were confiscated near this town in 1992, but I was only able to record one.

BYZANTIUM (1). Andronicus II with Michael IX Palaeologus (1294–1320), class IIa, six towers (?), dated perhaps 1294–1303, Thessalonica

8. 3.92g. B587/5186. Obv. field sigla in cannot be determined: there may be none. In the walls, at 9 and 3 o'clock: İ (?) and Ω(?), × and 8. See *DOC* 5.1, p. 141, no. 121 (for four towers)

3. *Uncertain provenance* (7)

These seven coins entered the museum together and may have formed a hoard.

VENICE (2). Silver grossi, first type (2)

9. 2.00g. B110/576. Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–75), Papadopoli 1893, p. 112, no. 1, pl. VII.3
10. 1.02g. B111/577. Uncertain doge, on account of the heavy clipping

UNCERTAIN ISSUER (1). Imitation of a silver grosso, first type, dating before 1365 (1)

11. 1.67g. B112/578. Broken and cut. The identification is based on legend and style

BYZANTIUM (4). Silver basilikon (1)

12. 1.81g. B109/575. Andronicus II with Michael IX Palaeologus (1294–320), anonymous issue dated ca. 1305–20, *DOC* 5, nos 528–534, double struck

Gold hyperpyra (3)

Andronicus II with Michael IX Palaeologus (1294–1320), class IIb, four towers, dated perhaps 1303–20

13. 3.49g. B108/574. Obv. field sigla: l. * K and r. * И (?), see *DOC* 5.1, p. 139, nos 185 and ff.
14. 4.31g. B108/574. Obv. field sigla: l. N (?) and r. Φ, for which there is no precise analogy in *DOC* 5.1, pp. 138–9
- Andronicus II with Andronicus III (1325–8), class III.
15. 5.00g. B108/574. Obv. field sigla: in the walls, ○ at 11 o'clock, and, in the field, l. ♣ ligatured with R and r. A, see *DOC* 5.1, p. 140, no. 4

4. *Keşan*

These seven coins were purchased together as originating in this town.

Billon deniers tournois (6)

ACHAIA, Clarentza mint (3)

16. 0.82g. A113/2101. Philip of Savoy (1301–1304/6), Tzamalīs 1994, PSB

17. 0.88g. A110/2098. Philip of Savoy (1301–1304/6), Tzamalīs 1994, PSΓ

18. 0.65g. A111/2099. John of Gravina (1321–32), Tzamalīs 1994, IGB2

ATHENS, Thebes mint (2)

19. 0.76g. A114/2102. Guy II de la Roche (1287–1308), Metcalf 1995, A3

20. 0.59g. A115/2103. Guy II de la Roche (1287–1308), Metcalf 1995, A7

DESPOT OF ROMANIA, Naupaktos mint (1)

21. 0.57g. A112/2100. Philip of Taranto (1296/8–1314), Metcalf 1995, DR2bii

Silver grosso (1)

VENICE, first type, dating before 1365 (1)

22. 1.54g. A109/2095. Uncertain doge, on account of the heavy clipping

5. *Uncertain provenance* (2)

These two coins were confiscated together and may represent a hoard.

Silver grossi (2)

BULGARIA (1) Ivan Aleksandăr with Mihail Asen (1331–55 and posthumous)

23. 1.58g. A9/905. Jurukova and Penčev 1990, p. 125, type v, dated there *c.* 1345–55

UNCERTAIN ISSUER (1) Imitative issue of Ivan Aleksandăr with Mihail Asen (1331–55 and posthumous)

24. 1.33g. A10/906. Coin has elements of type v in accordance with Jurukova and Penčev 1990, p. 125, and Penčev 2012, pp. 112 and 116 (monograms of blagoveren and Mihail), but is inferior in execution, and resembles Penčev 1999, p. 117, no. 69, classified as imitative

6. *Uncertain provenance* (2)

These two silver coins were confiscated together and may represent a hoard.

VENICE (1) Silver grosso, second type

Andrea Contarini (1368–82), Papadopoli 1893, p. 215, no. 2, pl. XII.10, F to the r. of rev. throne

25. 1.97g. A203/3354.

UNCERTAIN ISSUER (1) Imitation of a silver grosso, first type, dating before 1365

26. 2.03g. A202/3353. The identification is based on the nonsensical legend and the rough style

7. *Edirne region 1995* (134)

Hoard of 134 Venetian grossi and reportedly from a location in close vicinity to Edirne, given to the museum following a court decision, inventory number A237/5968

VENICE (134)

Silver grossi, first type, until 1365 (3)

Francesco Dandolo (1329–39), Papadopoli 1893, p. 162, no. 4, and pl. IX.12 (1)

27. 1.70g. Mounted

Andrea Dandolo (1343–54), Papadopoli 1893, p. 181, no. 2, and pl. X.8 (1)

28. 2.13g. Holed

Uncertain doge (1)

29. 2.05g. Holed

Silver grossi, second type (85)

Andrea Contarini (1368–82)

No mint mark, obv. Christ as first type,) CNI VII, p. 101, no. 54; Castellani 1925, 1, p. 167, no. 5040 (1)

30. 1.96g. Holed

Papadopoli 1893, p. 215, no. 2, and pl. XII.10 (12)

Mint mark F (8)

31–38. 1.92, 1.93, 1.87, 1.94, 1.93, 1.95, 1.95, 1.87 g, all holed

Uncertain mint mark (3)

39–41. 2.04 (mounted), 1.93 (holed), 1.94 (holed) g.

Antonio Venier (1382–1400), 1382–94, Papadopoli 1893, p. 229, no. 2, and pl. XIII.6 (73)

Mint mark P, Pietro Viaro elected 30 May 1385 (37)

42–78. 2.00, 2.01, 1.91, 1.92, 1.96, 2.00, 1.97, 1.99, 2.00 (holed), 1.94, 1.92 (holed), 1.94 (holed), 1.97, 1.96, 1.94 (holed), 1.97, 1.95, 1.96, 2.01, 1.95, 1.95, 1.94, 2.01, 2.00, 1.94, (holed), 1.83, 1.96 (holed), 1.95, 1.98, 1.96 (holed), 2.01, 1.92, 1.95, 1.96, 1.96, 1.98, 1.98 g.

Mint mark **M**, Marco Baffo elected 20 August 1385 (14)

79–92. 1.96, 1.92 (holed), 1.99, 1.97 (holed), 1.98, 1.91, 1.93, 2.00, 1.90, 1.98, 1.97, 1.99, 1.85, 1.96 g.

Mint mark **F** (10)

93–102. 2.00 (mounted), 1.97, 1.94, 1.96 (holed), 1.96, 1.93, 1.96 (holed), 1.98 (holed), 2.04 (holed), 1.91 g.

Mint mark **R** (8)

103–110. 1.91, 1.96 (holed), 1.86 (holed), 1.98, 1.99 (holed), 1.94 (holed), 1.74 (holed), 2.04 (holed) g.

Uncertain mint mark (4)

111–114. 1.96, 1.96 (holed), 1.94, 1.96 (holed) g.

Silver grosso, third type (46)

Antonio Venier (1382–1400), 1394–1400, Papadopoli 1893, p. 229, no. 3, and pl. XIII.7 (45)

Beardless doge and leonine head of saint, Phillips and Tyler-Smith 2002, pp. 283–4 (A); pl. 49, no. 3 (36)

115–150. 1.82, 1.92 (holed), 1.87, 1.87, 1.82 (holed), 1.83, 1.84, 1.86, 1.87 (holed), 2.05, 1.85, 1.83 (holed), 1.88 (holed), 1.90, 1.88, 1.90, 1.85, 1.75, 1.82, 1.80 (holed), 1.88 (holed), 1.85, 1.78 (holed), 1.93 (holed), 1.85 (holed), 1.87, 1.86 (holed), 1.83 (holed), 1.88, 1.60, 1.87 (holed), 1.87, 1.89 (holed), 1.88 (holed), 1.88, 1.88 g.

Beardless doge and conventional head of saint, Phillips and Tyler-Smith 2002, p. 284 (B) (8)

151–158. 1.79, 1.71, 1.78 (holed), 1.77, 1.84, 1.90, 1.81, 1.77 g.

Bearded doge with hair at back of cap, Phillips and Tyler-Smith 2002, p. 285 (C), variety 11 (2)

159–160. 1.76, 1.68 g.

SINGLE FINDS

BYZANTIUM (13)

Gold hyperpyra (2)

Andronicus II with Michael IX Palaeologus (1294–1320), class IIa, six towers (?), dated perhaps 1294–1303

161. 4.11g. B703/6111. Uncertain provenance. Obv. field sigla: l. $\hat{\alpha}$ and r. $\hat{\alpha}$, see *DOC* 5.1, p. 135, no. 2

Andronicus II with Andronicus III (1325–8), class III

162. 4.12g. B695/5747. Coin originates in the village of Beğendik near Keşan. Obv. sigla: in the walls, $\bullet$ at 11 o'clock, and, in the field, l. $\clubsuit$ and r. **A**, see *DOC* 5.1, p. 140, no. 4

Silver basilikon (1)

Andronicus II with Michael IX Palaeologus (1294–1320)

- 163.** 2.00g. B190/1390. Donated to the museum, reportedly from Edirne. Anonymous issue dated *c.* 1305–20, *DOC* 5, nos 517–524. Holed

Copper trachea (9)

John III Vatatzes (1246–54), Thessalonica

- 164.** 1.24g. Uncertain provenance. *DOC* 4.2, type D, no. 6

- 165.** 3.16g. B308-1965. Uncertain provenance. *DOC* 4.2, type F, no. 8

Theodore II Laskaris (1254–8), Magnesia

- 166.** 2.83g. B263/1836. Uncertain provenance. *DOC* 4.2, type B, no. 10

- 167.** 3.16g. Uncertain provenance. *DOC* 4.2, type D, no. 12

Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258/9–82), Philadelphia

- 168.** 3.04g. Uncertain provenance. *DOC* 5, nos 46–51

Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258/9–82), Constantinople

- 169.** 1.5g. Uncertain provenance. *DOC* 5, nos 66–69

- 170.** wnr. B120/586. Uncertain provenance. *DOC* 5, nos 86–90

Andronicus II Palaeologus alone (1282–94 or later), Constantinople

- 171.** 2.33g. B300/1941. Purchased at Havsa near Hasköy. *DOC* 5, nos 563–566

Copper tetarteron (1). Constantinople. Andronicus II with Michael IX Palaeologus (1294–1320)

- 172.** 1.96g. B306/1963. Originates in Keşan. *DOC* 5, nos 633–637

GATTILUSIO RULERS OF MYTILENE AND AINOS (3)

Billon denari (3)

Jacopo I Gattilusio (1403–28), Mytilene (1)

- 173.** 1.32g. Uncertain provenance. Schlumberger 1878/1882, pl. XVI, no. 21; Lunardi 1980, pp. 256–7, G8; Kofopoulos and Mazarakis 1996, pp. 423–4, Myt. III.d

Anonymous Gattilusio ruler of Ainos (1384–1456) (2)

- 174.** 0.79g. Uncertain provenance. Schlumberger 1878/1882, pl. 17, nos 16–17; Lunardi 1980, p. 274, no. G21

- 175.** 0.53g. Uncertain provenance. Schlumberger 1878/1882, pl. 17, nos 18–19; Lunardi 1980, p. 276, no. G23

VENICE (2)

Silver grosso, first type (1)

- 176.** 2.03g. A254/6359. Purchased 2006. Lorenzo Tiepolo (1268–75), Papadopoli 1893, p. 112, no. 1, pl. VII.3

Silver soldino, first type (1)

- 177.** 0.82g. A104/1602. Purchased 1981 from Altıntaş near Keşan. Francesco Dandolo (1329–39), Papadopoli 1893, p. 163, no. 10, pl. IX.14
ACHAIA (1). Billon denier tournois.
- 178.** 0.76g. B305/1962. Purchased from Keşan. Philip of Savoy (1301–1304/6), Tzamalis 1994, PSA
ATHENS (1) Billon denier tournois.
- 179.** 0.72g. A201/3201. Purchased from near the Meriç river. William (12807) or Guy II de la Roche (1287–1308), Tzamalis 1990, GR105
MAGNESIA UNDER THE SARUHAN OĞULLARI (1). Silver gigliato
- 180.** 3.66g. A209/3362. Confiscated. Saruhan bey before 1344/1345, Schlumberger 1878/1882, pl. 18, no. 13

DISCUSSION

The hoards and single finds presented here underline the importance of the Byzantine gold coinage during the period from the beginning of the reign of Emperor John III Vatatzes (1221) to the end of the reign of Andronicus II Palaeologus (1328).

Hoard 1. Pınarhisar (Pl. 29, 1–7)

This hoard is entirely composed of the main hyperpyron coinage (the second coinage according to *DOC*) in the name of John III. It presents fewer compositional and typological complexities than the Ainos 1983 and the Agrinio hoards, the second of which is often used as the main comparison for this coinage.² These other hoards contain also issues of earlier rulers, transitional issues of John III, as well as specimens of the early main coinage of the same ruler, whereas Pınarhisar is more homogeneous. Our hoard might for this reason date later in the reign of John, although it has some typological overlaps, especially with Agrinio: there are only two types of obverse sigla, very similar decorations in the dress of the reverse emperor, and an overall stylistic unity, all of which may be identified with phase 2 of the classification devised by Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2000. Significantly, the hoard lacks issues of the Latin empire according to the same author's system, which might have begun in the 1240s, and the hoard can therefore be generally dated to the 1230s. In this period, Brysis (that is to say present-day Pınarhisar) was still in the hands of the Latin empire.³ It is possible that the abandonment of this hoard may have been caused by the pressures exerted on the region by the Bulgarians or Byzantines.⁴

Hoard 2. Lüleburgaz (Pl. 29, 8)

There are no hyperpyra of the Emperors Theodore II and Michael VIII in either hoards or single finds, and the second main concentration of hyperpyra occurs

² On these respective hoards, see Baker 2013 and Metcalf 1980.

³ *TIB* 6, s.v. Brysis.

⁴ *TIB* 12, p. 144.

therefore under Andronicus II, from 1282 onwards. I have only seen one of the two hyperpyra from Lüleburgaz. This is all the more unfortunate since this specimen is of some interest. It is, according to interpretations first put forward by Simon Bendall, an issue of Thessalonica on account of the obverse sigla which are placed inside the city walls, and the reverse elongated figure of Christ and His prominent feet, as much as the distinctive face of Emperor Andronicus on the left.⁵ It is probable that this specimen has six towers and we may therefore presume a concealment date for the hoard in the 1290s or 1300s. Perhaps this hoard, like others in the region, should be seen in the context of the massive Catalan onslaught on Thrace which began in 1307.⁶ There is also a single find from this early phase of minting of Andronicus and his son Michael IX (perhaps before 1303), although this coin is a product of the main imperial mint (**Pl. 38, 161**).

Hoard 3. Uncertain provenance (Pls 29–30, 9–15)

Hoard 3 contains gold and silver coins and can be dated by the most recent gold hyperpyron to the later 1320s, or a bit later. Its gold component (**Pl. 30, 13–15**) belongs to what is arguably the main period of hyperpyron minting of Andronicus II: class IIb, with Michael IX, four towers, dated perhaps 1303–20; and class III, with Andronicus III, dated perhaps 1325–8. Interestingly, another hyperpyron of the latter class from the vicinity of Keşan (**Pl. 38, 162**) shares the same sigla with **Pl. 30, 15**.

The finds from Edirne province highlight the rapid rise in the early fourteenth century of the silver denominations in the Byzantine coinage system. Hoard 3 also contains one imperial basilikon (**Pl. 29, 12**). There is another such coin from the village of Havsa (**Pl. 38, 171**). These finds vindicate Grierson's view,⁷ that the anonymous types were the most common of the basilikon issues of Andronicus II with Michael IX. The most startling conclusion made on the basis of our finds, with respect to silver, is that in this part of Thrace in the fourteenth century most silver coins were alien issues. These were principally Venetian, Latin Greek, and Bulgarian. In hoard 3, three of the four silver coins are non-Byzantine (**Pl. 29, 9–11**).

Hoard 4. Keşan (Pl. 30, 16–22)

Hoard 4 is entirely devoid of Byzantine issues and resembles the typical small hoards which one encounters in southern Greece for the first half of the fourteenth century. These contain mainly deniers tournois from the three main Greek mints, and a few grossi (in this case merely the one).⁸ **Pl. 30, 18** is the most recent of the coins and locates abandonment around 1330.⁹ At this date, Kissos / Keşan, was in Byzantine hands.¹⁰ It is possible that hoards 3 and 4 are related to the intensification of the

⁵ Bendall 1982.

⁶ Baker 2013, p. 224.

⁷ *DOC* 5, p. 143.

⁸ For hoards of this kind and date, see Metcalf 1995, pp. 348ff.

⁹ Baker 2001, p. 224.

¹⁰ *TIB* 12, s.v. Kissos.

Byzantine civil war and to external pressure from the Bulgarians onto Byzantine Thrace from the second half of the 1320s.¹¹

Hoards 5 and 6. Uncertain provenance (Pl. 30, 23–26)

These are two small hoards of Bulgarian and Venetian grossi respectively. Their dates are difficult to determine, but may be somewhere in the region of the 1360s / 1370s and 1370s / 1380s respectively. Again, a military context may be suggested in general terms for their deposition and/or non-retrieval: that is to say the relentless Ottoman expansion into Byzantine territory, but of course this is difficult to substantiate in the absence of more precise find-spots and concealment dates.¹² Interestingly, two of these coins (**Pl. 30, 24** and **26**) are imitations, as is **Pl. 29, 11**. Given that there are parallels between **Pl. 30, 24** and coins found in the north-western area of the Bulgarian state, one may conclude that this particular coin is not of local manufacture. The remaining two coins, on the other hand, may well be Thracian and would highlight the preference for the Venetian grosso type among imitators, which may have been the case also in Macedonia,¹³ but not in mainland and southern Greece where the tournois was dominant in this respect.¹⁴ The stray finds from Thrace also suggest a greater variety in the available silver coinages than may have been expected with, in addition to the usual Venetian grossi of the first type (**Pl. 39, 176**), a Venetian soldino (**Pl. 39, 177**), two Greek tournois (**Pl. 39, 178–179**), and an Anatolian gigliato (**Pl. 39, 180**). The Gattilusio mints of Mytilene and Ainos also contributed to the availability of silver-based coinages around 1400 (**Pl. 39, 173–175**: see below on the matter of dating), although the issues of the second of these mints may have been of very low grade silver indeed.

Hoard 7. Edirne region 1995 (Pls 31–37, 27–160)

It is usually assumed that the presence of Venetian grossi came to an end in the southern Balkans towards the middle of the fourteenth century,¹⁵ and that the second and subsequent grosso types begun by Doge Andrea Contarini in 1379 were absent from Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace unlike, for instance, in the Levant.¹⁶ Hoard 7, containing 134 Venetian grossi, contradicts this, while the single specimen from hoard 6 (**Pl. 30, 25**) shows that we may be dealing with more than a mere coincidence or a single exception to a well-established rule. Hoard 7 is compositionally close to the ANS parcel B / the Elsen parcel, particularly since it contains types 1–3 grossi in similar proportions.¹⁷ It is close to the Venetian part of the Syrian hoard published by Phillips and Tyler-Smith, in the overall spread of grossi and also because many

¹¹ *TIB* 12, pp. 154–5.

¹² *TIB* 12, pp. 156ff.

¹³ Metcalf 1972.

¹⁴ Athanasoulis and Baker 2008, p. 253ff.

¹⁵ Touratsoglou and Baker 2002.

¹⁶ On these later grosso types see Yvon 1968; Pottier 1983; Stahl 1984; Stahl 2000, pp. 69–77, 212; Phillips and Tyler-Smith 2002.

¹⁷ The Parisian hoards mentioned by Yvon are unfortunately not published in enough detail.

coins are holed or mounted. However, ‘Edirne region 1995’ hoard is earlier than the Syrian hoard, and also to other hoards cited by the same authors from the same region, since it has comparatively more older grossi and it has only two specimens of type 3 (C) variety 11 issues of Venier (**Pl. 37, 159–160**), and no variety 12 issues in which the doge has a beard but no hair. The latter two heavily dominate in Syria, and ‘Edirne region 1995’ was therefore probably concealed just before 1400. By this point Adrianople and its region had been Ottoman for a number of decades.¹⁸ Our hoard contains one exceptional coin (**Pl. 31, 30**), a second type grosso of Contarini without mint mark and an old-style Christ figure.

One would be inclined to classify this an imitation, were it not for the coin’s apparently good fineness, weight, strike and style and the closeness of the reverse (featuring doge and saint) to the other coins of Contarini in the hoard. The *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, with reference to a coin in the Papadopoli collection, suggests that there was a type 2 grosso without mint mark. An additional point of interest regarding this coin from the Edirne region 1995 hoard is the presence of three annulets under Christ’s left arm, which is a feature of another coin in the Papadopoli collection, in this case bearing mint mark F.¹⁹ May one propose that these types respectively without mint marks and/or bearing the three annulets belong to the earliest grosso issues of Contarini before the regularization of his second type proper (**Pl. 31, 31–41**)?

Finally, the consistent piercing and mounting of the silver coins in the Edirne region hoard, and also elsewhere (**Pl. 38, 163**), is noteworthy. This is a practice which is generally not common for the later medieval Aegean, but which is certainly pronounced in other areas, for instance in the cited Levantine hoards or in contemporary England. It would be premature to draw any conclusions from the Thracian material beyond stating that the most obvious context in which holing and mounting may have taken place would have been the storing of wealth, or its ritualized display or transfer.

Conclusion

In addition to the prolific presence of silver, and of alien coinages, it is of some interest that the vast majority of the coins presented here were lost or deposited between 1300 and 1400, and only a few positively in the fifteenth century.²⁰ The last Byzantine emperor represented in this material is Andronicus III as co-ruler with his grandfather, a dynastic arrangement which ended in 1328. The absence of issues of Emperors John VI and John V, whose supporters had such a significant presence in Thrace during the second Byzantine civil war (1341–7) is particularly poignant. In the period between John III Vatatzes and the 1320s the Byzantine coinage system reveals itself as plentiful and variegated, and the gold and silver issues which have been

¹⁸ *TIB* 6, s.v. Adrianupolis.

¹⁹ Papadopoli 1893, p. 215: “In alcuni esemplari... sotto il braccio del Redentore, si vedono tre anellini riuniti...”; *CNI* VII, p. 96, no. 10; Castellani 1925, 1, p. 167, no. 5037.

²⁰ See **173, 175** from the Ainos mint was attributed by Iliescu to Palamede, who governed the city from 1421: Oberländer-Târnoveanu 2011. **174** might, therefore, conceivably date just before that.

discussed are systematically accompanied by coppers (trachea and one tetarteron: **Pl. 38, 164–172**). Before the imperial re-conquest of Constantinople in 1261, our area was provisioned by the main Balkan and Anatolian mints of the empire, and subsequently by Constantinople, although the hyperpyra may suggest the continued importance of Thessalonica after 1261 (see above). On the evidence presented here, the demise of Byzantine coinage deprived this part of Thrace not merely of a gold coinage, but also of a copper coinage, if one leaves aside the low-grade issues of Ainos discussed above which may well have been used like a copper coinage.

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BAKER, COIN CIRCULATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL THRACE (1)

PLATE 30

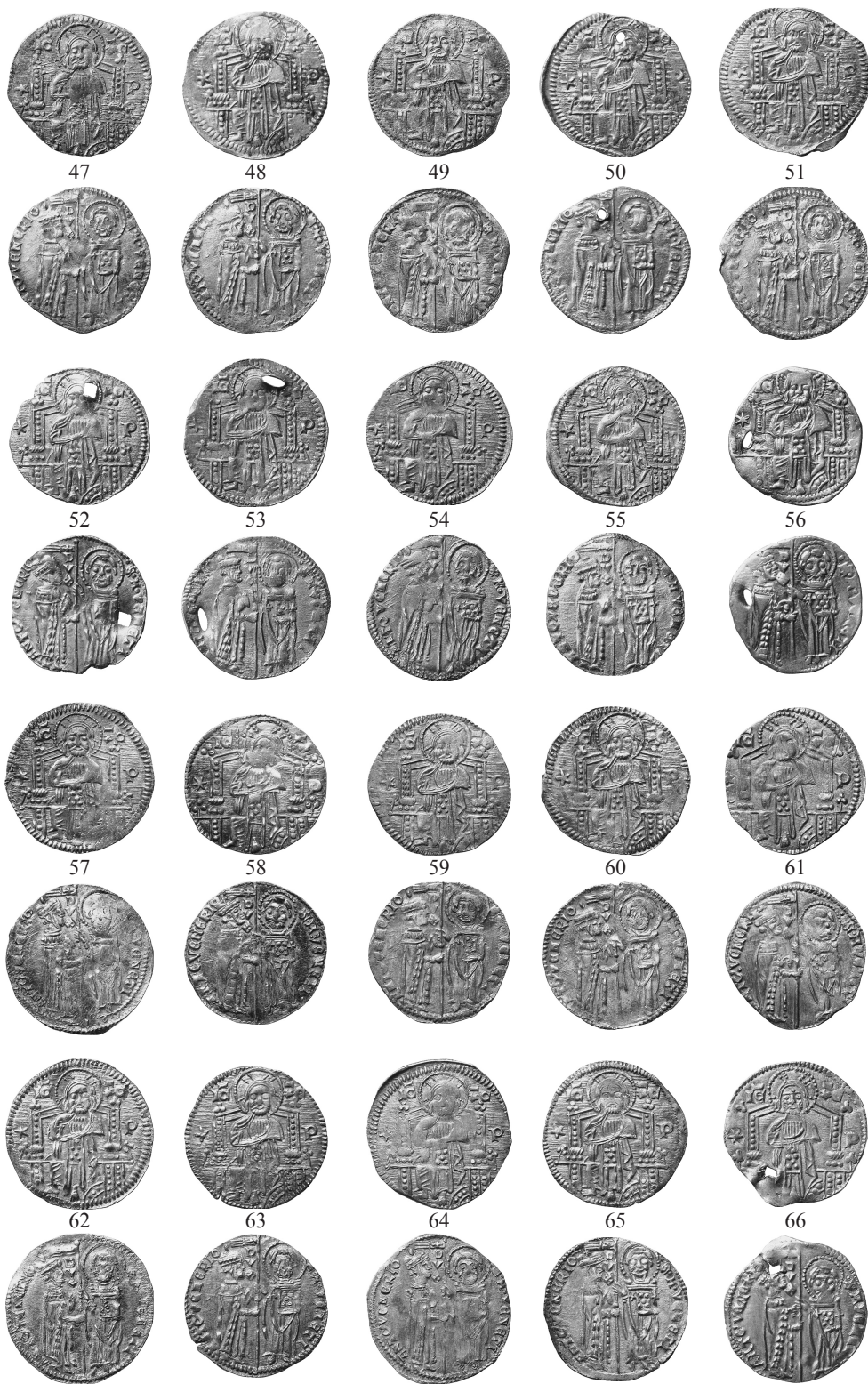


BAKER, COIN CIRCULATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL THRACE (2)



BAKER, COIN CIRCULATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL THRACE (3)

PLATE 32



BAKER, COIN CIRCULATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL THRACE (4)

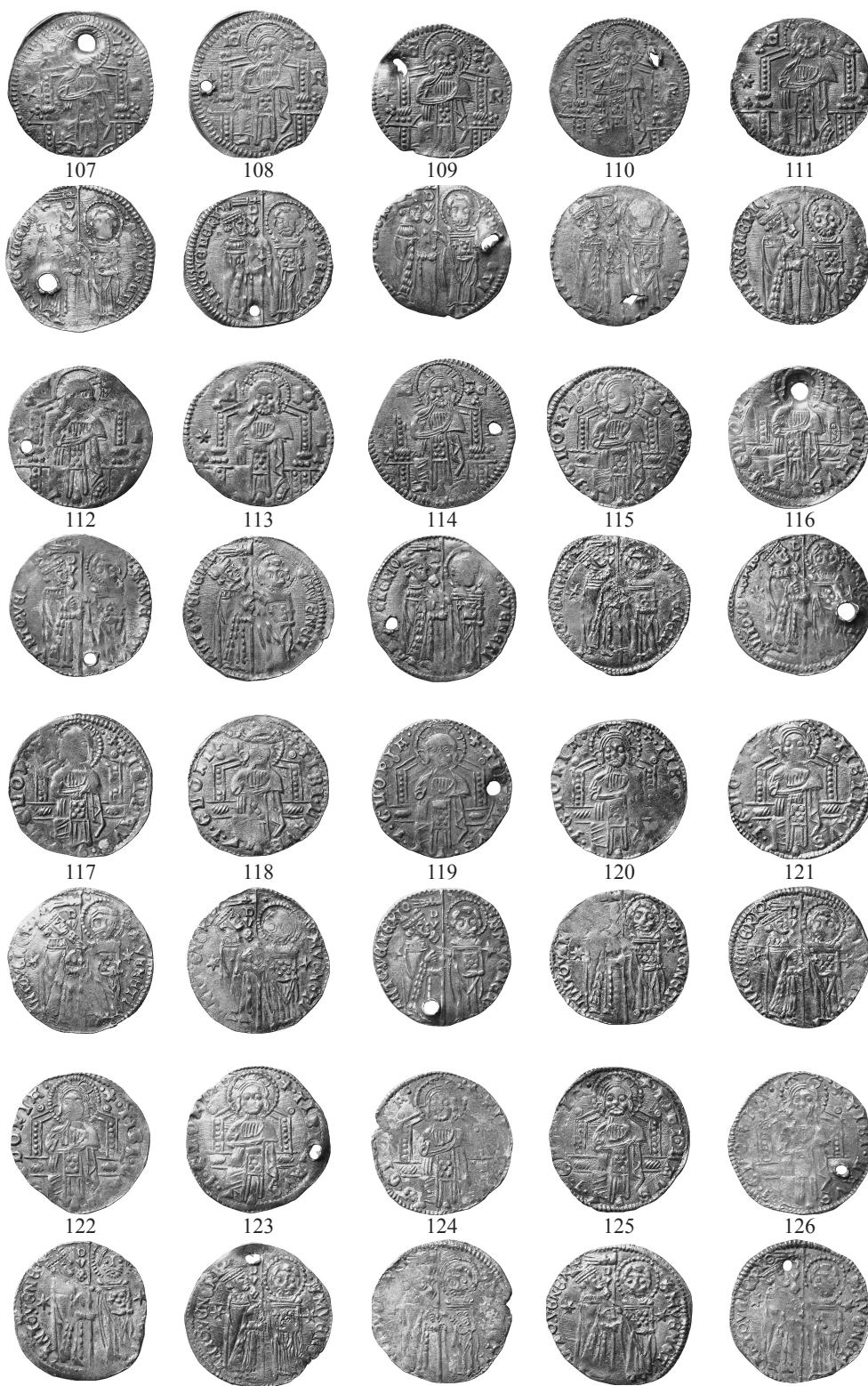


BAKER, COIN CIRCULATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL THRACE (5)

PLATE 34



BAKER, COIN CIRCULATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL THRACE (6)



BAKER, COIN CIRCULATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL THRACE (7)

PLATE 36



BAKER, COIN CIRCULATION IN LATE MEDIEVAL THRACE (8)



PLATE 38





